

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
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C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 2829

PRETORIA ALSO FOR AMBASSADOR LOW

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV RH US UK
SUBJ: RHODESIA: ZAPU ON ZAPU-ZANU RELATIONS

REF: LUSAKA 2828

1. SUMMARY: CLOSE CONFIDANT OF JOSHUA NKOMO EDWARD NDLOVU, DEPUTY SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ZAPU, SEES LITTLE PROSPECT FOR EITHER MILITARY OR POLITICAL UNIFICATION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. EFFORTS TO UNIFY THE PF HAVE BEEN DORMANT SINCE OCTOBER 1977. ZANU PARTY MEMBERS WHO SUPPORTED UNITY, GUMBO, HAMADZIRIPI, ETC., ARE CONFINED BY ZANU OR COULD BE DEAD. TONGOGARA IS A STRONG OPPONENT OF UNITY. ATTEMPTS BY ZAPU TO USE MOZAMBIQUE TERRITORY FOR ITS MILITARY OPERATIONS WERE SABOTAGED BY NYERERE. ZAPU HAS HAD TO USE MILITARY FORCE TO RID ITSELF OF ZANU CADRE OPERATING IN ITS AREA INSIDE RHODESIA. A MILITARY SHOWDOWN WITH ZANU MAY BE INEVITABLE. IF ELECTIONS
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TAKE PLACE ZANU AND ZAPU WILL EACH PRESENT ITS OWN CANDIDATES. RUNNING PF CANDIDATES IS NOT IN THE CARDS. END SUMMARY.

2. AT A LONG LUNCHEON WITH CHARGE AND POL OFF, EDWARD NDLOVU WAS SURPRISINGLY FRANK IN DISCUSSING DIVISIONS WITHIN THE PF. AS WAS TO BE EXPECTED, ZANU WAS PORTRAYED AS THE OBSTACLE

TO UNITY. UNIFICATION NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES HAD BROKEN DOWN IN OCTOBER 1977, AND THERE HAD BEEN NO SERIOUS EFFORT TO GET THEM STARTED SINCE. THE DIFFICULTIES OF DOING SO WERE POINTED UP BY THE DETENTION OF GUMBO AND HAMADZIRIPI. THEY HAD FAVORED UNITY AND HAD WORKED FOR IT AND AS A RESULT HAD BEEN DETAINED BY ZANU. THEIR FATE WAS NOT CLEAR. THEY MAY HAVE BEEN ELIMINATED BY ZANU. TONGOGARA HAS BEEN AND CONTINUES TO BE A PRINCIPAL OPPONENT OF UNITY.

3. NYERERE HAD SABOTAGED ATTEMPTS BY ZAPU TO USE MOZAMBIQUE AS A BASE FOR ZAPU'S MILITARY OPERATIONS. ZAPU HAD APPROACHED MACHEL WITH A REQUEST TO USE TETE PROVINCE AS A LAUNCHING PAD. MACHEL HAD CONSULTED MUGABE AND MUGABE HAD CONSULTED NYERERE. NYERERE HAD TURNED THUMBS DOWN ON THE PROPOSITION AND MACHEL AND MUGABE HAD GONE ALONG WITH HIS RECOMMENDATION.

4. CLASHES BETWEEN ZANU AND ZAPU FORCES INSIDE RHODESIA HAVE BEEN FREQUENT. ZANU CADRE INTIMIDATE ZAPU LOYALISTS AND EVEN ENCOURAGE THEM TO INFORM THE RHODESIAN MILITARY ABOUT ZAPU MOVEMENTS. ZAPU HAD LEARNED THAT ZANU CADRE WERE PRESSING VILLAGERS TO REPORT TO THE RHODESIAN THE MOVEMENTS OF GUERRILLAS MOVING IN GROUPS OF FIVE OR SIX. THIS HAPPENS TO BE THE FAVORITE FORMATION OF ZAPU FORCES. ZAPU HAS RESPONDED TO ZANU UNDERHANDEDNESS BY PHYSICALLY FORCING ZANU CADRE OUT OF ITS TERRITORY.

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5. NDLOVU ACCEPTED THE SUGGESTION THAT THE FAILURE OF THE PF TO UNIFY MILITARILY COULD LEAD TO A MILITARY SHOWDOWN BETWEEN ZAPU AND ZANU. THIS PROSPECT, HE SAID, DID NOT WORRY ZAPU ALL THAT MUCH. ZAPU FORCES HAD DEMONSTRATED THEIR MILITARY SUPERIORITY OVER ZANU. THEY WERE BETTER ARMED, DISCIPLINED AND BETTER FIGHTERS. IF A SHOWDOWN OCCURRED, ZAPU WOULD QUICKLY WIN OUT.

6. RUNNING PF CANDIDATES IN ELECTIONS, IF THEY SHOULD TAKE PLACE, IS NOT IN THE CARDS. ZAPU AND ZANU WOULD EACH PRESENT ITS OWN CANDIDATES, AND ZAPU WOULD BEAT ZANU HARDILY.

7. COMMENT: NDLOVU'S OBSERVATIONS ARE INTERESTING AS CONFIRMATION OF INFORMATION WE HAVE SEEN FROM OTHER SOURCES. THERE WAS NO EMOTION (EXCEPT WHEN HE REFERRED TO NYERERE) WHEN HE DESCRIBED THE LACK OF TRUST BETWEEN ZANU AND ZAPU. THIS IS SIMPLY THE WAY IT IS. MANY OF HIS COMMENTS ARE SELF-SERVING--ZANU IS ALWAYS AT FAULT--AND THESE SHOULD BE REGARDED WITH SUSPICION. WE FIND DEPRESSING HIS ACCEPTANCE OF THE POSSIBILITY THAT THERE WILL BE A MILITARY SHOWDOWN BETWEEN ZANU AND ZAPU. END COMMENT.

CLINGERMAN

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